

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 DHA-02 VO-03 SCA-01
BIB-01 /075 W

-----061359Z 090812 /65

R 061114Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5873
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 WARSAW 0107

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CSCE PL
SUBJ: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION INITIATIVES: POLAND

REF: STATE 312332

1. SUMMARY. THE CHARGE DISCUSSED CSCE FOR 2 1/2 HOURS ON JANUARY 5 WITH JAN KINAST, DIRECTOR, NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, MFA. THE EXCHANGE WAS FRANK AND COMPREHENSIVE, AND KINAST SAID THE GOP WELCOMED PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION BEFORE BELGRADE AND BEFORE VICE MINISTER SPASOWSKI MAKES HIS TRIP TO THE US (PROBABLY IN LATE MARCH OR EARLY APRIL). DIVIDED FAMILIES AND RFE WERE THE MAIN SORE POINTS TOUCHED, AND FAMILIAR GROUND ON
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BOTH SUBJECTS WAS REFLOWED. A SECOND MEETING IN EARLY FEBRUARY HAS BEEN SCHEDULED. END SUMMARY.

2. CHARGE BEGAN BY REFERRING TO THE MEETING BETWEEN AMBASSADOR DAVIES AND VICE MINISTER SPASOWSKI ON DECEMBER 10 DURING WHICH SUBJECT OF BILATERAL EXCHANGES ON CSCE WAS DISCUSSED. CHARGE SAID USG LOOKED FORWARD TO REVIEWING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HEL-

SINKI ACCORDS WITH SPASOWSKI AND, AS A STARTER, WE WOULD LIKE TO RAISE SOME SPECIFIC ISSUES WHICH COULD BE DISCUSSED IN GREATER DETAIL LATER. KINAST REPLIED THAT THE GOP WELCOMED SUCH EXCHANGES. HE SAID HE HAD JUST RECEIVED A CABLE FROM THE POLISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON REPORTING THAT DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARMITAGE AND AMBASSADOR TRAMPCZYNSKI HAD DISCUSSED LAST WEEK THE TRIP OF VICE MINISTER SPASOWSKI AND HAD AGREED THAT CSCE AS WELL AS OTHER BILATERAL ISSUES WOULD FIGURE ON THE VISIT AGENDA. HE ALSO SAID THAT AN AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED THAT SPASOWSKI WOULD TRAVEL TO WASHINGTON IN LATE MARCH OR EARLY APRIL.

3. TURNING TO THE FIRST ITEM IN REF, CHARGE SAID THE USG CONTINUED TO BE DISAPPOINTED AT POLISH PERFORMANCE ON DIVIDED FAMILIES. WE WERE APPREHENSIVE THAT THIS MATTER WOULD INCREASINGLY IMPINGE ON THE OTHERWISE GOOD STATE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, AND WE HOPED THAT A CHANGE IN POLISH POLICY WELL IN ADVANCE OF NEXT SUMMER'S BELGRADE MEETING WOULD REDUCE THE LIKLIHOOD OF THIS BEING A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE, AT LEAST AS FAR AS THE US AND POLAND WERE CONCERNED. HE SAID WE WERE STILL WAITING FOR SIGNS THAT VICE MINISTER ADAMSKI'S ENCOURAGING WORDS TO DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARMITAGE IN JULY WERE BEING TURNED INTO ACTION. CHARGE HANDED OVER A CHRONOLOGY OF EMBASSY INTERVENTIONS ON THIS SUBJECT SINCE JANUARY, 1974 AND A LIST OF SOME 800 UNRESOLVED DIVIDED FAMILY CASES PREVIOUSLY SUBMITTED BY DIPLOMATIC NOTE (BOTH LISTS BEING POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT.) HE SAID THESE LISTS ATTEST TO BOTH THE SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM AND TO THE PERSISTENCE WITH WHICH THE EMBASSY HAD PURSUED IT OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS. FINALLY, CHARGE SAID THE GOP'S HIGHLY RESTRICTED DEFINITION OF "FAMILY" CONTRIBUTED TO THE SCANT PROGRESS RECORDED SO FAR, AND
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WE HOPED THAT A BROADENING OF THIS DEFINITION MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IN PRE-BELGRADE TALKS.

4. KINAST PREFACED HIS REPLY BY SAYING THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISIONS GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO MAKE BEFORE BELGRADE IS WHAT THEY WANT TO GET OUT OF THE SESSION. IF IT IS TO TURN INTO A "BOOKKEEPERS CONVENTION", WHERE EAST AND WEST DO NOTHING BUT FIND FAULT WITH EACH OTHER'S POST-HELSINKI PERFORMANCE, THEN BELGRADE WILL BE A WASTE OF EVERYONE'S TIME. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MEETING CONCENTRATES ON THE POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS SINCE HELSINKI AND SEEKS "NEW CHANNELS" TO STIMULATE THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI, IT CAN PROVE HIGHLY BENEFICIAL. IN WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS A PERSONAL VIEW, KINAST SAID HE WAS DISTURBED BY TWO TENDENCIES EMERGING IN THE WEST: A) EFFORTS TO MINIMIZE THE "POLITICAL AND PRACTICAL MEANING" OF THE FINAT ACT, AND, B) TOO MUCH QUANTIFICATION OF THE ACT'S IMPLEMENTATION.

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 DHA-02 VO-03 SCA-01
BIB-01 /075 W

-----061331Z 090958 /10

R 061114Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5874
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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AS FOR DIVIDED FAMILIES, KINAST SAID HE AGREED THAT THIS IS AN
IMPORTANT BILATERAL QUESTION WHICH HE WAS SORRY TO HEAR US CALL
AN ISSUE. BUT IT MUST BE SEEN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FINAL ACT AS
A WHOLE AND NOT TREATED AS A SEPARATE ISSUE. IT IS NOT AN EASY
SUBJECT FOR THE GOP, AND KINAST REGRETTED THAT THE PROGRESS
ALREADY MADE IN DEALING WITH IT WAS NOT GIVEN MORE RECOGNITION
BY THE USG. HE SAID THAT WHEN CONSIDERED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF
THE CONSTANT FLOW OF PERSONS BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN THE US AND
POLAND AND OF THE POSITIVE RESOLUTION OF MOST "REAL" HUMANITARIAN
CASES, THE POLISH PERFORMANCE LOOKS MUCH BETTER. FROM THEIR
SIDE, HE ADDED, THE POLES HAVE PROBLEMS WITH US VISA PROCEDURES
AND WITH THE WAY SOME POLISH VISITORS HAVE BEEN TREATED IN THE
US. (COMMENT: HE PRESUMABLY WAS REFERRING TO THE DETENTION OF
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THREE POLISH CITIZENS BY THE INS IN CHICAGO IN FEBRUARY 1976.
END COMMENT.) IN SUM, HE CONCLUDED, THE GOP IS DISTRESSED OVER

THE IMPORTANCE THIS QUESTION HAS ACQUIRED IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

5. IN REPLY, THE CHARGE SAID HE WAS SURE THE USG ALSO WOULD NOT WISH TO SEE BELGRADE TURN INTO A "BOOKKEEPERS CONVENTION". HAVING SAID THAT, HOWEVER, WE CANNOT WINK AT WHAT WE CONSIDER TO BE AN INADEQUATE PERFORMANCE ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. THE BEST WAY TO AVOID CONFRONTATION AT BELGRADE IS TO REGISTER GAINS IN DEALING WITH SUCH PROBLEMS AS DIVIDED FAMILIES. AS A COUNTRY OF EMIGRANTS, WE ARE VERY SENSITIVE TO RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES, AND WE WILL STICK BY OUR INTERPRETATION OF WHAT THE HELSINKI COMMITMENTS MEAN ON THIS SUBJECT. KINAST REPEATED THE GOP'S HOPE THAT THE WEST'S INSISTENCE ON DISCUSSING SUCH A CONTENTIOUS SUBJECT WOULD NOT DETRACT FROM THE MORE IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN EUROPE.

6. MOVING ON THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION, CHARGE SAID WE BELIEVE POLISH PERFORMANCE IN THIS AREA IS GENERALLY GOOD. THE RECENT DRAMATIC EXPANSION OF US-POLISH TRADE HAS BEEN CONDUCTED IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF OPENNESS AND COOPERATION, WHICH IS OF BENEFIT TO BOTH COUNTRIES. FOR BOTH POLICY AND PRACTICAL REASONS, HOWEVER, WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE DATA ON POLAND'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, PARTICULARLY ON THE SERVICES ACCOUNT AND ON FINANCIAL FLOWS. THE CHARGE CITED THE EXAMPLE OF MORE COMPLETE INFORMATION ON AGRICULTURE AS LEADING TO BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND A BETTER TRADING RELATIONSHIP FOR BOTH POLAND AND THE US. IN RESPONSE, KINAST AGREED THAT THE SITUATION IS GENERALLY GOOD IN THE ECONOMIC AREA AND THAT, FOR AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN IN POLAND, PROBLEMS THAT CROP UP NORMALLY REFLECT MORE ON BUREAUCRATIC PROCEDURES THAN ON POLICY. UNFORTUNATELY, HE ADDED, HE COULD NOT SAY THE GENERALLY GOOD EXPERIENCE OF AMERICAN COMPANY REPRESENTATIVES IN POLAND WAS RECIPROCATED BY HIS COUNTRY'S TRADERS IN THE US. HE CITED THREE AREAS OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE GOP: A) THE GOLF CART DECISION, B) US MARKET DISRUPTION PROCEDURES AND, C) CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPORT CONTROLS. HE SAID POLISH EXPERIENCE WITH ALL THREE HAD BEEN A GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT AND THAT REAL QUESTIONS HAD BEEN RAISED ABOUT THE ABILITY OF POLISH EXPORTS TO PENETRATE THE US MARKET. ON THE MORE GENERAL SUBJECT OF BASKET II, HE CONCLUDED, THE POLES WILL BE INTERESTED TO TALK IN BELGRADE ABOUT RECENT SOVIET PROPOSALS ON INTRA-EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORTATION AND ENERGY. THEY WILL ALSO RAISE EC-COMECON RELATIONS. HE SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR WHAT THE US POSITION ON THESE SUBJECTS MAY BE. THE CHARGE SAID HE WOULD TAKE NOTE OF THIS POLISH INTEREST. AS FOR THE GOLF CART, MARKET DISRUPTION AND EXPORT CONTROL CONCERNS OF THE GOP, WE HOPE THAT UPCOMING CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON WILL YIELD SOME BENEFIT TO BOTH SIDES.

7. MOVING TO THE SUBJECT OF FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, CHARGE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH POLAND IS MORE OPEN THAN SOME OTHER EE COUNTRIES TO US NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, WE ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT THE CIRCULATION OF MANY PUBLICATIONS IS SO LIMITED. WE HOPE STEPS CAN BE TAKEN BEFORE BELGRADE TO MAKE OUR NEWS PUBLICATIONS MORE FREELY ACCESSABLE TO THE POLES. WITHOUT ELABORATING, KINAST SAID HE BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE AN INCREASE IN THE AVAILABILITY OF SUCH PUBLICATIONS IN THE FUTURE. HE THEN REGRETTED THAT THERE IS SO LITTLE INTEREST IN POLISH NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES IN THE US. CHARGE REPLIED THAT THIS IS A QUESTION OF READER PREFERENCES, LANGUAGE AND COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION, AND THAT THE USG HAS VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE OVER THESE MATTERS. KINAST THEY TURNED TO A SUBJECT OVER WHICH HE SAID THE USG WOULD HAVE SOME INFLUENCE, NAMELY RFE.

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ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 DHA-02 VO-03 SCA-01
BIB-01 /075 W

-----061332Z 091355 /65

R 061114Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5875
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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HE SAID THAT POLAND'S OFFICIAL UNHAPPINESS OVER THE BROAD-
CASTS OF RFE HAD BEEN EXPRESSED MANY TIMES, INCLUDING
AT "THE HIGHEST LEVEL". AS FAR AS WARSAW IS CONCERNED,
HE SAID, THE ACTIVITY OF THE RADIO IS CLEARLY CONTRARY

TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

8. THE CHARGE REPLIED THAT, ON THE CONTRARY, WE VIEW RFE AS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH HELSINKI. WE ARE DEALING, HE SAID, WITH A SUBJECT THAT GOES TO THE HEART OF OUR DIFFERENT POLITICAL SYSTEMS, AND WE SEE LITTLE LIKLIHOOD THAT THE ACTIVITIES OF RFE AND RL WILL DIMINISH AS LONG AS INFORMATION AND NEWS ARE TIGHTLY CONTROLLED IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. HAVING SAID THAT, CONFIDENTIAL

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HOWEVER, THE USG IS OF COURSE WILLING TO CONSIDER SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS ABOUT RFE NEWS COVERAGE. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO SEE EXAMPLES OF FALSE REPORTING, SLANDER OR COLD WAR PROPAGANDA. THE RFE OPERATES UNDER STRICT GUIDELINES IN THESE AND OTHER AREAS, AND THE USG WOULD BE CONCERNED IF THESE GUIDELINES WERE VIOLATED. KINAST SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TURNED OVER SUCH EXAMPLES IN THE PAST, BUT WITH NO RESULTS. ANYHOW, HE ADDED, IT IS THE VERY EXISTENCE OF RFE THAT BOTHERS HIS GOVERNMENT. CHARGE SAID HE DID NOT DOUBT THIS TO BE THE CASE, BUT THAT THE GOP SHOULD BE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO CLOSE DOWN THE RADIO BECAUSE OF OFFICIAL POLISH UNHAPPINESS.

9. ON EXCHANGES, CHARGE SAID WE ARE GENUINELY SATISFIED WITH THE SCOPE OF THE EXCHANGE PROGRAMS IN POLAND, BUT WE HOPE GREATER STRESS IN THE FUTURE COULD BE PLACED ON SOCIAL SCIENCES. HE THEN PASSED ON THE SUGGESTIONS LISTED IN PARA 2E OF REF AND SAID WE WOULD WELCOME ANY IDEAS THE POLES HAVE. KINAST SAID HE WAS PLEASED TO RECEIVE OUR PROPOSALS AND WOULD BE PREPARED LATER TO RESPOND. HE SAID THE POLISH SIDE HAS FOUND THE EXPERTS MEETINGS ON EXCHANGES USEFUL AND HOPES THIS INFORMAL ARRANGEMENT WOULD CONTINUE IN THE FUTURE. THE POLES' ONLY COMPLAINT, HE SAID, IS THE USG'S INABILITY TO FOSTER A GREATER POLISH CULTURAL PRESENCE IN THE US. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD OUR PROBLEM, BUT GIVEN THE POLISH GOVERNMENT'S ACTIVE ROLE IN PROMOTING AMERICAN CULTURE, HE HOPED WE WOULD FIND SOME WAY ON THE OFFICIAL SIDE TO HELP THE POLES OVERCOME THE "COMMERCIAL BARRIER" IN THE US. THE CHARGE REPLIED THAT WE WOULD BE HAPPY TO HEAR ANY IDEAS THE POLES MAY HAVE ON HOW THIS COULD BE DONE, BUT THAT WE DON'T HAVE ANY EXCEPT TO RECOMMEND THE KIND OF QUALITY LITERATURE AND CULTURE WHICH WILL FIND ACCEPTANCE WITH THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. CONFIDENTIAL

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10. CHARGE NOTED POLISH COMPLIANCE WITH THE CBM PROVISION ON NOTIFICATION AND REGRETTED THE POLES' FAILURE TO ACCEPT ANY OBSERVER INVITATIONS FROM NATO NATIONS. KINAST TOOK NOTE OF THESE COMMENTS, BUT DID NOT REPLY IN ANY SUBSTANTIVE WAY.

11. COMMENT: THE DISCUSSION OF DIVIDED FAMILIES AND RFE WAS SOMEWHAT HEATED, AND KINAST'S COMMENTS ON US TRADE RESTRICTIONS WERE MADE IN MORE SORROW THAN ANGER. OTHERWISE, THIS SESSION WENT VERY WELL, WITH A LOT OF PLAIN, BUT FRIENDLY, TALK ON BOTH SIDES. KINAST SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO GET TOGETHER AGAIN IN A FEW WEEKS, AND WE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE ON THE FIRST WEEK OF FEBRUARY. THE DEPARTMENT WILL PRESUMABLY SEND INSTRUCTIONS. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE SOME GUIDANCE ON WHAT TO SAY ABOUT THE GENERAL USG POLICY APPROACH TO BELGRADE AND ON THE INTRA-EUROPEAN SUBJECTS KINAST MENTIONED. ALSO, HE ASKED THAT ANY ADDITIONAL IDEAS WE HAVE ON SPASOWSKI'S CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON BE PASSED ON AT THE FEBRUARY MEETING. END COMMENT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TREATY COMPLIANCE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 06-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977WARSAW00107
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770005-0979
Format: TEL
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770173/aaaacmgz.tel
Line Count: 357
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 42a230dc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 312332
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3648741
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION INITIATIVES: POLAND
TAGS: PFOR, PL, US, CSCE, (KINAST, JAN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/42a230dc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009